

# EXHIBIT 6

**Expert Report of Christopher A. Cooper, PhD**

***Conley et al. v. Hirsch et al.***

**In the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of North Carolina**

April 13, 2025

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## **I. Introduction**

1 My name is Christopher A. Cooper. I have been retained by Plaintiffs' counsel to analyze data and provide my expert opinion on voter behavior, North Carolina elections, and the demographic and political characteristics of the military and overseas voters challenged by Jefferson Griffin in the 2024 North Carolina Supreme Court election for Seat 6. My analysis is limited to the approximately 5,509 ballots challenged because they were submitted by overseas and military voters in four targeted counties (Buncombe, Durham, Guilford and Forsyth) who are identified as having voted absentee in 2024 without complying with the requirement applied to domestic civilian absentee voters to attach a copy of their photo identification. I also include separate comparisons for the partisanship of challenged voters who reside in Guilford County because of remaining uncertainty over whether Griffin's challenge and the resulting court order is limited to just Guilford County military and overseas voters, or all such voters from all four counties mentioned above.<sup>1</sup> In this report, I call the these affected voters the UMOVA List voters, based on the so-named state law establishing the absentee voting process for military and overseas voters.<sup>2</sup>

## **II. Qualifications**

2 I am the Robert Lee Madison Distinguished Professor and Director of the Haire Institute of Public Policy at Western Carolina University in Cullowhee, NC, a university where I have worked since 2002. I hold a PhD and MA in Political Science from the University of Tennessee, Knoxville and a BA in Political Science and Sociology from Winthrop University. My academic research focuses American politics with a particular specialty in elections, voter behavior, state politics, and southern politics—often using the case of North Carolina. To date, I have published over 50 peer-reviewed journal articles and scholarly book chapters, have co-edited one book, co-authored another book, and recently authored *The Anatomy of a Purple State: A North Carolina Politics Primer* (all with the University of North Carolina Press). I teach courses on state and local politics, political parties, campaigns, and elections, southern politics, research methods, and election administration. I also serve as co-editor of the *Journal of Election Administration Research and Practice*, am on the editorial

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<sup>1</sup> For example, Justice Earls, in her dissent in Griffin v. State Board of Elections notes "...these targeted voters are only those who happened to have registered in Guilford County, or maybe one or three of four other counties..." (see p. 8). Later in her dissent, Justice Earls writes, "I do not know, and the court orders do not clarify, which of these counties' voters are affected."

<sup>2</sup> I reserve the ability to supplement this report, including as more information becomes available about this affected group of UMOVA List voters.

board of the *Social Science Journal* and regularly review papers on my areas of expertise for academic journals. In 2013, I was named North Carolina Professor of the Year by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and I have received Western Carolina University's highest awards in teaching (Board of Governors Teaching Award) and scholarship (University Scholar).

3 Much of my scholarly research relies on administrative data, particularly voter registration data such as the kind used in this report. For example, my co-authored paper, "the value of voter files for state politics research" (*State Politics and Policy Quarterly*) documented the usefulness of administrative data for the study of state politics. I have also used administrative data such as the kind used in this report in peer-reviewed papers published in *Social Science Quarterly*, *Election Law Journal*, *PS: Political Science and Politics*, and most recently in my book, *Anatomy of a Purple State*.

4 I am a frequent source for journalists seeking expertise on my areas of expertise and have been quoted in outlets such as *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The New Yorker*, Politico, CNN, Fox News, *The Charlotte Observer*, National Public Radio, Carolina Journal, and the *Asheville Citizen Times*. I have also written over 100 op-eds and short contributions for media outlets including *The News and Observer*, *Time*, *The Asheville Citizen Times*, *The Atlanta-Journal Constitution*, *The Assembly*, the NC Tribune, and *The Washington Post*.

5 I have previously testified as an expert witness in North Carolina in *Common Cause v. Lewis* (2019) and *Harper v. Hall* (2021), and submitted an expert declaration in *Urban League v. DeJoy* (2020).

6 My Curriculum Vitae is attached as Exhibit A to this report.

7 I am being compensated at a rate of \$350 per hour for work in this matter. My compensation is not contingent on the results of my analyses, nor on the contents of my report.

### III. Summary of Findings

8 The demographic and partisan characteristics of UMOVA voters challenged by Griffin are distinct on a number of indicators from the entire pool of voters who participated in the November 2024 election, and from those who voted early in person or by mail in the November 2024 election. The UMOVA List voters in the four challenged counties (Buncombe, Guilford, Durham, and Forsyth) are significantly more likely to include Democratic voters compared to the voters in the rest of North Carolina's 96 counties who are not contested. Despite the fact that more Republicans cast a ballot in North Carolina in the 2024 general election than Democrats, Democrats were almost five times more likely to have their ballots challenged than Republicans (4.7 times). Unaffiliated voters were 4.9 times more likely to have their ballots challenged than Republicans, despite the fact that the

Unaffiliated share of the 2024 electorate only surpassed the Republican share by about two percentage points. When examining Guilford County challenges in isolation, the partisan disparities are also evident—Democrats in Guilford County are much more likely to have their votes challenged than Republicans. Moreover, broadly speaking, challenged voters are younger, more likely to identify as a member of a minority group, and much more likely to have unidentified race and ethnicity.

9 Challenging a targeted subset of voters who do not resemble the overall electorate is a particularly important finding in a state like North Carolina that consistently has close elections and split outcomes. In addition to the Griffin/Riggs contest, there were a number of other close elections in North Carolina in 2024. For example, Democrat Brian Cohen beat Republican Frank Sossman by 228 votes in NC House District 32, Democrat Terence Everitt won by 128 votes in NC Senate District 18, and Republican Tricia Cotham won by 216 votes in NC House District 112. 2024 was not an anomaly, either. In 2020, 401 votes separated the top two candidates for Chief Justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court and in 2016 Democrat Josh Stein won by fewer than 25,000 votes. Close outcomes are the norm in North Carolina.

10 North Carolinians' penchant for ticket splitting has been noted since at least the mid-1970s<sup>3</sup> and were once again evident in 2024. For example, in the ten-person statewide elected Council of State, Democrats prevailed in five elections (Attorney General, Governor, Lt. Governor, Secretary of State, and Superintendent of Public Instruction) and the Republicans won the other five (Insurance, Agriculture, Auditor, and Treasurer). North Carolina is undoubtedly a purple state<sup>4</sup> and North Carolina voters have come to expect split outcomes and close margins. As a result, even small shifts in whose votes are being challenged can have a large impact.

#### **IV. Data and Methods**

11 I first obtained the lists of all UMOVA voters challenged from the North Carolina State Board of Elections.<sup>5</sup> I then merged these voters with publicly available data from three sources: (1) the North Carolina Voter Registration file (November 5, 2025 snapshot), (2) the North Carolina

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<sup>3</sup> Decries, Walter. 1975. "Ticket-Splitting in North Carolina: The 1972 Elections." In *Politics and Policy in North Carolina*, Thad L. Beyle and Merle Black, eds. New York: MSS Information Corporation.

<sup>4</sup> Cooper, Christopher A. 2024. *Anatomy of a Purple State: A North Carolina Politics Primer*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

<sup>5</sup> I requested and obtained the data I examined in this report from the North Carolina State Board of Elections before I was retained as an expert. I routinely obtain voting and administrative data from North Carolina State Board of Elections for my academic studies.

Voter history file and (3) the ENRS file, which keeps more detailed information on mail and early voting, including where mail ballots were sent. All of these files were merged on the “ncid” variable (a unique identifier for each registered voter in the state provided the first time they register). This merge was successful for all but eight of the 5,509 people on the UMOVA List (99.85% match)

**12** I then compared patterns in the group of challenged voters to multiple groups of comparison voters. My analysis of patterns in the UMOVA List compares them to the pool of registered voters, the pool of 2024 voters overall, and the pool of people who cast a mail ballot in the 2024 election (as UMOVA List voters, by definition, did not vote in person). By providing three comparison groups, I am able to determine whether the challenged voters differ from each of these comparison groups. If the comparison reveals consistent deviations in the same direction, it would indicate that the voters challenged are unrepresentative and that certain types of voters are being disproportionately affected by the challenge. The analysis confirmed that this is what happened.

## **V. Analysis**

**13** Griffin is challenging up to 5,509 UOCAVA<sup>6</sup> ballots in four counties—Buncombe (1,095 challenges), Durham (1,991 challenges), Forsyth (1,014 challenges) and Guilford (1,409 challenges).

**14** The counties where voters are challenged for not providing a copy of voter ID make up some of the most Democratic counties in the state. Approximately 92 percent of UMOVA List voters challenged for not providing a copy of their ID when voting, cast their vote using email through the NCSBE portal.<sup>7</sup> The portal has no option to attach a copy of an ID. These four counties are also home to several cities that typically favor Democratic candidates: Asheville (Buncombe), Durham (Durham), Greensboro (Guilford), and Winston-Salem (Forsyth). Durham gave Justice Riggs her 3<sup>rd</sup> highest margin of victory in the state (by total votes), Buncombe her 6<sup>th</sup> largest margin, Forsyth her 7<sup>th</sup>, and Guilford her 4<sup>th</sup> largest margin.<sup>8</sup>

**15** Table 1 compares the UMOVA List voters to the full set of voters in the Seat 6 race in the 2024 election. As Table 1 indicates, Justice Riggs garnered 65.5 percent of the votes in the four

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<sup>6</sup> The North Carolina State Board of Elections summarizes the statutory definition of UMOVA voters as “active-duty members of the Uniformed Services, Merchant Marine, or commissioned corps of the Public Health Service and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration and their eligible family members; or U.S. citizens living outside the United States.” <https://www.ncsbe.gov/voting/military-and-overseas-voting/faq#WhatistheUOCAVAandwhoiscoveredbyit-2853>.

<sup>7</sup> I arrived at that estimate by comparing the number of accepted ballots cast using email in these counties (using the ballot\_req\_type field in the ENRS file) to the number challenged.

<sup>8</sup> These counties were ranked identically in terms of vote share for Kamala Harris, the Democratic candidate for President.

counties with voters challenged on the UMOVA List—more than 18 percentage points higher than her vote share in the rest of the state. In Guilford County, Riggs’ margin was 15 percentage points higher than it was in the rest of the state.

Table 1. The Four Counties with Challenged UMOVA List Voters are Among the Most Democratic in the State.

County	Riggs Votes	Griffin Votes	Riggs Margin	UOCAVA Challenges
Buncombe	99,090	56,470	64%	1,095
Durham	145,399	32,516	82%	1,991
Forsyth	113,896	84,138	58%	1,014
Guilford	172,394	104,676	62%	1,409
Rest of State	2,239,633	2,491,878	47%	0

Notes: Raw data pulled from NCSBE and analyzed by Chris Cooper.

16 Table 2 demonstrates similar patterns when comparing the UMOVA List voters to all mail voters as well. Approximately 73 percent of mail votes accepted in Buncombe, Durham, Forsyth and Guilford Counties were cast for Justice Riggs; Riggs received 62 percent of the mail votes in the rest of the state. Look at just Guilford County, Riggs received 68 percent of the mail vote compared to 62 percent in the rest of the state.

Table 2. Mail Voters in the Four Counties with Challenged UMOVA List Voters are Among the Most Democratic in the State.

County	Riggs Mail Votes	Griffin Mail Votes	Riggs Mail Vote Margin	UOCAVA Challenges
Buncombe	9,092	2,567	80%	1,095
Durham	8,501	1,568	84%	1,991
Forsyth	7,817	4,148	65%	1,014
Guilford	8,625	4,062	68%	1,409
Rest of State	146,832	90,226	62%	0

Notes: Raw data pulled from NCSBE and analyzed by Chris Cooper.

17 Challenging almost any sample of voters in these counties would result in challenges of more Riggs than Griffin voters. A straightforward way to demonstrate the unrepresentativeness of the Griffin challenges compared to general pools of voters in North Carolina is simply to compare the party registration of challenged voters to mail voters across the state. At the time of the November 2024 election, voters in North Carolina can register as members of the Democratic, Republican, Libertarian, No Labels, We the People, Justice for All, or Green Parties, or as Unaffiliated.

18 As Table 3 demonstrates, because of the four counties Griffin targeted, fewer than one in



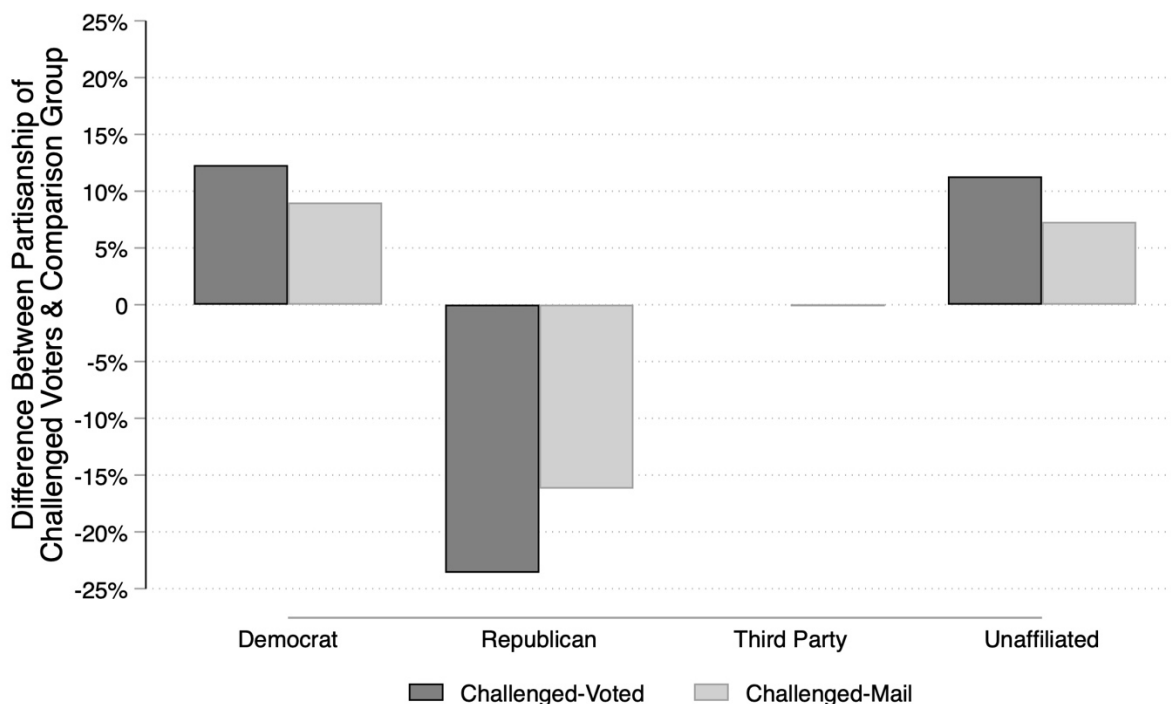
every ten UMOVA ballots challenged were cast by Republicans. In fact, because of the selection of these four counties only, Democrats were 4.7 times more likely to have their ballots challenged than Republicans; Unaffiliated registrants were 4.95 times more likely to have their ballots challenged than Republicans. The pool of overall voters, however, includes more Republicans than Democrats, making this difference particularly stark. Figure 1 shows the information in the last two columns presented graphically.

Table 3. Democratic and Unaffiliated Voters are Overrepresented in the Group of UMOVA List Voters Challenged for Not Supplying a Copy of their IDs With Their Completed Ballot.

	Statewide Registered	Statewide Voted	Statewide Voted by Mail	Challenged	Challenged- Voted	Challenged- Mail
Democrat	31.3%	31.5%	34.8%	43.8%	12.30%	9.0%
Republican	29.9%	32.9%	25.5%	9.3%	-23.60%	-16.2%
Unaffiliated	37.7%	34.8%	38.8%	46.1%	11.30%	7.3%
Third Party	1.1%	0.8%	0.9%	0.8%	0.00%	-0.1%

Notes: Analysis of Challenged voters is derived from the matching procedure described in Section III of this report. Analysis of registered voters relies on the November 5, 2024 voter registration database. Analysis of the universe of November 2024 voters relies on the voter history file and analysis of the mail voter pool relies on the November 2024 ENRS file. Third party includes people registered with the Green, Justice for All, Libertarian, No Labels, and We the People parties.

Figure 1. Republican UMOVA Voters Are Less Likely to Have Their Votes Challenged



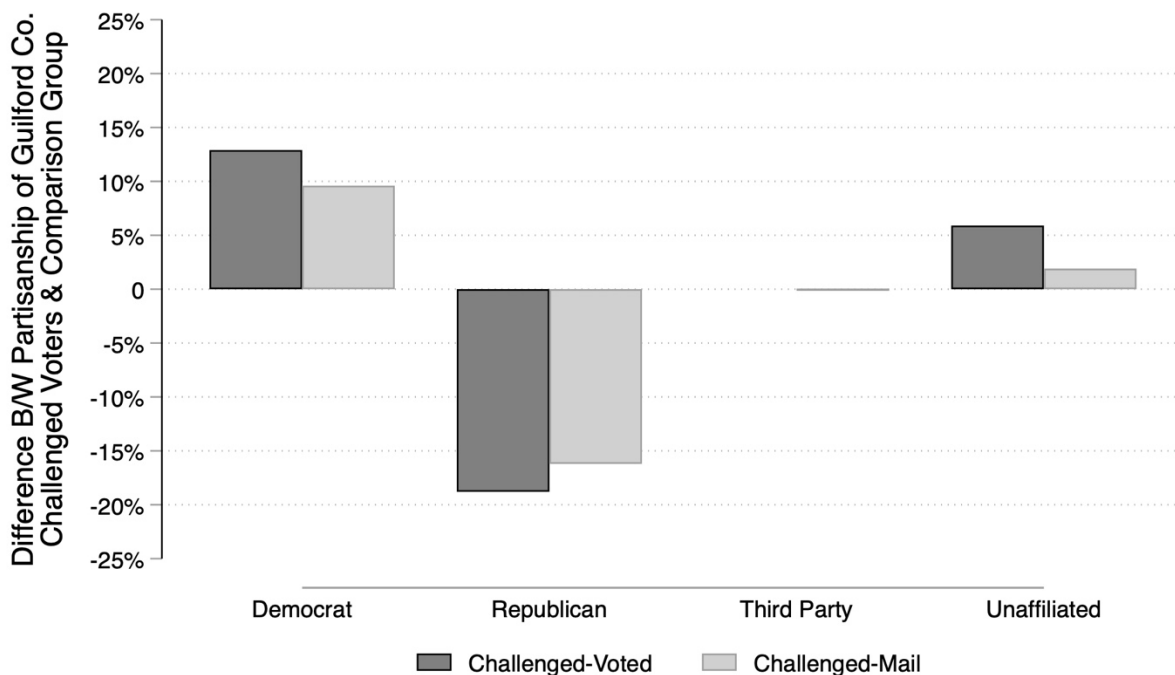
19 Table 4 and Figure 2 present similar analysis, but only for the UMOVA List voters challenged in Guilford County. As you can see, the overall findings are similar—Guilford County Democrats are much more likely to have their votes challenged than Republicans (~3.1 times), despite the fact that Republicans outnumber Democrats in statewide voter registration and statewide voters in 2024.

Table 4: Democratic and Unaffiliated Voters are Overrepresented in the Group of Guilford County UMOVA List Voters Challenged for Not Supplying a Copy of Their IDs With Their Completed Ballot.

	Statewide Registered	Statewide Voted	Statewide Voted by Mail	Guilford Challenged	Guilford Challenged-Statewide Voted	Guilford Challenged-Statewide Mail
Democrat	31.3%	31.5%	34.8%	44.4%	12.9%	9.6%
Republican	29.9%	32.9%	25.5%	14.1%	-18.8%	-16.2%
Unaffiliated	37.7%	34.8%	38.8%	40.7%	5.9%	1.9%
Third Party	1.1%	0.8%	0.9%	0.8%	0.00%	-0.1%

Notes: Analysis of Challenged voters is derived from the matching procedure described in Section III of this report. Analysis of registered voters relies on the November 5, 2024 voter registration database. Analysis of the universe of November 2024 voters relies on the voter history file and analysis of the mail voter pool relies on the November 2024 ENRS file. Third party includes people registered with the Green, Justice for All, Libertarian, No Labels, and We the People parties.

Figure 2. Guilford Co. Republican UMOVA Voters Are Less Likely to Have Their Votes Challenged



20 In terms of race and ethnicity, Table 5 reveals that UMOVA List voters with “undesigned” race and “unidentified” ethnicity are much more likely to have their votes challenged and people who identify as White are much less likely to be in the pool of challenged voters than their numbers in the pool of voters would suggest. For example, voters with undesigned race made up 11.3 percent of the people who voted by mail overall in November 2024, but they were 36.2 percent of UMOVA List voters whose ballots were challenged. Voters with unidentified ethnicity made up over half of the pool of challenged UMOVA List voters, compared to about one-third of the voters who cast their vote by mail in November, 2024. It is not surprising to see the large number of people with unidentified race and gender in the challenged pool. There has been a significant rise in the number of people with unidentified race and ethnicity on the North Carolina voter file—particularly amongst young people.<sup>9</sup> White voters, on the other hand, make up 71 percent of the pool of mail voters, 68.4 percent of the pool of 2024 voters and just 50.9 percent of the challenged UMOVA List voters. Similarly, Non-Hispanics are much less likely to have their votes challenged than their proportions in the pool of 2024 voters would suggest.

Table 5: UMOVA List Voters with Undesignated Race Were Much More likely to Have their votes challenged

	Registered	Voted	Voted by Mail	Challenged	Challenged-Voted	Challenged-Mail
<i>Race</i>						
Asian	1.2%	1.3%	2.8%	2.8%	1.50%	0.00%
Black	19.7%	17.9%	10.9%	5.9%	-12.00%	-5.00%
Indian American	.7%	.6%	.3%	.1%	-0.50%	-0.20%
Native Hawaiian	.01%	.01%	.01%	0%	-0.01%	-0.01%
Other	4.0%	3.2%	3.1%	2.9%	-0.30%	-0.20%
2 or More Races	.5%	.4%	.5%	1.4%	1.00%	0.90%
Undesignated	9.6%	7.8%	11.3%	36.2%	28.40%	24.90%
White	63.7%	68.4%	71.0%	50.9%	-17.50%	-20.10%
<i>Ethnicity</i>						
Hispanic	4.2	3.22%	2.6%	2.8%	-0.42%	0.20%
Non-Hispanic	65.9	68.69%	63.8%	46.8%	-21.89%	-17.00%
Unidentified	29.9	28.08%	33.6%	50.4%	22.32%	16.80%

Notes: Analysis of challenged UMOVA List voters is derived from the matching procedure described in Section III of this report. Analysis of registered voters relies on the November 5, 2024 voter registration database. Analysis of the universe of November 2024 voters relies on the voter history file and analysis of the mail voter pool relies on the November 2024 ENRS file.

<sup>9</sup> See Cooper, Christopher A. and J. Michael Bitzer. 2023. “The Curious Case of the Missing Data; Registration Roll-off in North Carolina. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Election Science Research Association. Athens, GA).

**21** As Table 6 demonstrates, the pool of UMOVA List voters challenged for not providing an ID is much younger than any of the comparison groups. The average age of challenged voters is 41 years old—approximately 10 years younger than the overall population of voters in November 2024 and more than 11 years younger than the average November 2024 mail voter. Table 6 also demonstrates that people 18-25, and 26-40 are all overrepresented in the pool of challenged UMOVA List voters, compared to their representation in the overall voter pool.

Table 6. UMOVA List Voters Are More Likely to Come from Younger Age Cohorts

	Registered	Voted	Mail	Challenged	Challenged- Voted	Challenged- Mail
Avg. Age	48.9	51.4	52.7	41.1	-10.3	-11.5
Age 18-25	13.3%	10.5%	16.7%	22.7%	12.2	6.0
Age 26-40	25.1%	21.2%	19.4%	33.5%	12.3	14.1
Age 41-65	38.6%	42.1%	28.6%	31.3%	-10.8	2.7
Age 66+	22.9%	26.2%	35.3%	12.4%	-13.8	-22.9

Notes: Analysis of challenged UMOVA List voters is derived from the matching procedure described in Section III of this report. Analysis of registered voters relies on the November 5, 2024 voter registration database. Analysis of the universe of November 2024 voters relies on the voter history file and analysis of the mail voter pool relies on the November 2024 ENRS file.

## **VI. Summary of Challenged UMOVA List Analysis**

**22** My analysis demonstrates that UMOVA List voters challenged for not providing a photocopy of their voter IDs with their absentee ballots are much more likely to be Democrats, less likely to identify as White, and are much younger than the comparison groups of registered voters, people who cast a ballot in 2024 and people who cast a ballot in 2024 by mail. The partisan disparities are not small. Despite the fact that more Republicans cast a ballot in North Carolina in the 2024 general election than Democrats, Democrats were almost five times more likely to have their ballots challenged than Republicans (4.7 times). Unaffiliated voters were 4.9 times more likely to have their ballots challenged than Republicans, despite the fact that the Unaffiliated share of the overall electorate only surpassed the Republican share by about two percentage points.

**23** Overall, I conclude that the selection of the four targeted counties (Buncombe, Guilford, Durham, and Forsyth) has resulted in significantly more Democrats and fewer Republicans being challenged. This conclusion is based on multiple comparison groups. The same finding stands for Guilford County UMOVA List voters considered in isolation.



Christopher A. Cooper, PhD

4-13-2025

Date

**APPENDIX A**  
**Christopher A. Cooper**  
Curriculum Vitae

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**EDUCATION**

Ph.D., University of Tennessee, Political Science (2002)

M.A., University of Tennessee, Political Science (1999)

B.A., Winthrop University, Political Science and Sociology (1997)

**ACADEMIC POSITIONS**

*Madison Distinguished Professor* (July 2019-Present)

*Professor* of Political Science and Public Affairs, Western Carolina University (2014-Present).  
Prior to that, Associate Professor (2008-2014) and Assistant Professor (2002-2008).

*Associate Professor* of Psychology (by Courtesy), Western Carolina University (2011-2018)

*Faculty Fellow*, Institute for the Economy and the Future Western Carolina University (2002-2006)

**ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS**

*Director*, Haire Institute for Public Policy, Western Carolina University (July 2008-July 2011; July 2021-present)

*Department Head*, Department of Political Science and Public Affairs, Western Carolina University (July 2012-July 2021; Interim from July 2011-June 2012)

*M.P.A. Director*, Western Carolina University (2005-2010)

**AWARDS**

North Carolina Professor of the Year, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (2013). Accomplishment entered into the Congressional Record of the 113<sup>th</sup> session of the United States Congress by then Congressman Mark Meadows.

Board of Governors Teaching Award, WCU (2013)

University Scholar, WCU (2011)

Chancellor's Award for Engaged Teaching, WCU (2007)

Teaching-Research Award, WCU (2006)

Outstanding Achievement—Teaching, Service Learning (2005)

Oral Parks Award for the best faculty paper presented at the 2003 meeting of the North Carolina Political Science Association.

Provost's Citation for Extraordinary Professional Promise, University of Tennessee (2002)

#### **ADDITIONAL TRAINING**

Social Network Analysis course through the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, Chapel Hill, NC (2010)

Spit Camp, Salimetrics, Inc, State College, PA (2010)

Deliberative Polling Institute, Stanford University (2008)

Hierarchical Linear Model course through the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, Amherst, MA (2005)

Summer Institute in Experimental Methods, Yale University (2003)

CATI and Ci3 training (2003)

Summer Institute in Political Psychology, Ohio State University (1999)

#### **RESEARCH**

##### **RESEARCH INTERESTS**

American Politics with a focus on elections, voting behavior, state politics, southern politics, North Carolina politics

##### **BOOKS**

Cooper, Christopher A. 2024. *Anatomy of a Purple State: A North Carolina Politics Primer*. University of North Carolina Press.

Cooper, Christopher A., and H. Gibbs Knotts. 2017. *The Resilience of Southern Identity*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

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Cooper, Christopher A. Cooper. 2018. "Not Just for Oprah Anymore: Incorporating Book Clubs Into Political Science Classes." *Journal of Political Science Education*. DOI:

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Cooper, Christopher A., and H. Gibbs Knotts. 2013. "Overlapping Identities in the American South." *Social Science Journal*. 50: 6-12.

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## BOOK CHAPTERS

Cooper, Christopher A., and H. Gibbs Knotts. 2022. "Reliably Purple: The 2020 Presidential Election in North Carolina." In David Schultz and Rafael Jacob, eds. *Presidential Swing States, Third Edition*. Lexington Press.

Cooper, Christopher A., and H. Gibbs Knotts. 2018. "North Carolina: Still Swingin' in the South." In David Schultz, and Rafael Jacob, eds. *Presidential Swing States, Second Edition*. Lexington Press.

Cooper, Christopher A., and H. Gibbs Knotts. 2015. "The Bluest Red State in America: North Carolina as a Swing State." In David Schultz and Stacy Hunter Hecht, eds. *Presidential Swing States: Why Only Ten States Matter*. Lexington Press.

[Recommended by *Choice*]

Cooper, Christopher A., and Mandi Bates. "Entertainment Media and Political Knowledge: Do People Get Any Truth out of Truthiness?" 2008. In Joseph Foy, ed., *Laughing Matters: Humor in American Politics*. University Press of Kentucky. Paperback edition published in 2010.

[Reviewed in the *New York Post* Aug. 2, 2008]

Cooper, Christopher A. "Multimember Districts and State Legislatures." 2008. In Bruce Cain, Todd Donovan, and Caroline Tolbert, eds. *Electoral Reform in the United States*. Brookings Institution Press.

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Cooper, Christopher A. and Anthony J. Nownes. 2002. "Textiles, Traditions and Scandal: Money in South Carolina Politics." In *Laboratories of Democracy: Money in State Politics*, ed. David Schultz. Durham: Carolina Academic Press: 133-154.

#### ENCYCLOPEDIA AND HANDBOOK ENTRIES

Cooper, Christopher A. 2008. "Multi-Member Districts." In the *Political Encyclopedia of the US States and Regions*, edited by Donald P. Haider-Markel, Michael Card, Keith Gaddie, Gary Moncrief, and Kenneth Palmer. Washington DC: CQ Press.

Cooper, Christopher A. 2008. "State Senator." In the *Encyclopedia of American Government and Civics*, edited by Michael A. Genovese and Lori Cox Han. New York; Facts on File.

Cooper, Christopher A., and Brian Noland. 2004. "Lobbying the Executive Branch." In *Research Guide to U.S. and International Interest Groups*, ed. Clive Thomas. Westport, CT: Praeger Press: 176-178.

#### EDITOR REVIEWED ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS

Cooper, Christopher A. "Politics of Health Communication." 2023. *North Carolina Medical Journal*. 84(3). <https://ncmedicaljournal.com/article/74498-the-politics-of-health-communications>

Cooper, Christopher A., and H. Gibbs Knotts. 2020. "Tips for Talking with the Media." *The Department Chair*. 31(2): 10-11.

Cooper, Christopher A. 2020. "Back to Basics: Cultivating Community Among Faculty." *The Department Chair* 30(4): 3-4.

Collins, Todd A., and Christopher A. Cooper. 2011. "The Case Salience Index: A Potential New Measure of Legal Salience." *Law and Courts Newsletter* 21: 5-7.

Cooper, Christopher A. 2010. Instructor's Manual for *State and Politics: Institutions and Reform, Second Edition.*, by Todd Donovan, Christopher Mooney and Daniel Smith. Wadsworth Publishing.

Cooper, Christopher A., and H. Gibbs Knotts. 2009. "Public Opinion on Land Use Planning." *Popular Government*. Fall: 24-28.

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Cooper, Christopher A. 2008. Instructor's Manual for *State and Politics: Institutions and Reform*, by Todd Donovan, Christopher Mooney and Daniel Smith. Wadsworth Publishing.

## Book Reviews

Cooper, Christopher A. 2023. Review of *White Nationalism and the Republican Party: Toward Minority Rule in America*. By John Ehrenberg. New York: Routledge Press, 2022. *Perspectives on Politics* 21(2).

Cooper, Christopher A. 2022. Review of *The Vote Collectors*. By Michael Graff and Nick Ochsner. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2021. *North Carolina Historical Review*. XCIX(2) 229-230.

Cooper, Christopher A. 2020. Review of *The Rise and Fall of the Branchhead Boys: North Carolina's Scott Family and the Era of Progressive Politics*. By Rob Christensen. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019. *North Carolina Historical Review*.

Cooper, Christopher A. 2006. Review of *Bringing Representation Home: State Legislators Among Their Constituencies*, by Michael A. Smith. *Perspectives on Politics* 2: 603-604.

## EXPERT REPORTS

Cooper, Christopher A. 2021. Second Expert Report of Christopher A. Cooper, PhD. Submitted in Harper v. Hall.

Cooper, Christopher A. 2021. First Expert Report of Christopher A. Cooper, PhD. Submitted in Harper v. Hall.

Cooper, Christopher A. 2020. Declaration of Christopher A. Cooper, PhD. Submitted in National Urban League v. DeJoy. Case No. 1:20-cv-023971-GLR. September 2020.

Cooper, Christopher A. 2019. Rebuttal Report of Christopher A. Cooper, PhD. Submitted in Common Cause V. Lewis. 18: VCS 014001. June 7, 2019.

Cooper, Christopher A. 2019. Expert Report of Christopher A. Cooper, PhD. Submitted in Common Cause V. Lewis. 18: VCS 014001. April 8, 2019.



## TECHNICAL REPORTS (2020-PRESENT)

*Commission on the Future of Elections Final Report: Cross-Partisan Leaders Finding Common Ground on Fair, Safe, & Secure Elections in North Carolina.* February 4, 2025.

[https://www.ncelectionsfuture.com/\\_files/ugd/8d4620\\_ffe116c92d224f47aff006b5ff62d59c.pdf](https://www.ncelectionsfuture.com/_files/ugd/8d4620_ffe116c92d224f47aff006b5ff62d59c.pdf)

Garvin, Leslie, Patti H. Clayton, Christopher A. Cooper, Amy Farrell, Kevin Marinelli, and Kyle R.J. Seltzer. 2024 *North Carolina Civic Health Index: Tapping Deep Roots and Nurturing Seeds of Hope to Improve North Carolina's Civic Health*.

Carroll, James A., Christopher A. Cooper, Heather Rimes, and Hunter Rogers. 2023. "NC Arboretum Visitor Survey." Report for the NC Arboretum. December, 2023.

Carroll, James A., Christopher A. Cooper, Hadyn Hedburg and Heather N. Rimes. 2023. "NC Arboretum Membership Survey." Report for the NC Arboretum. February, 2023

Cooper, Christopher, Blake Esselstyn, Gregory Herschlag, Jonathan Mattingly, and Rebecca Tippet. 2021. NC General Assembly County Clusterings from the 2020 Census. August 17. <https://sites.duke.edu/quantifyinggerrymandering/files/2021/08/countyClusters2020.pdf>

Cooper, Christopher, Blake Esselstyn, Gregory Herschlag, Jonathan Mattingly, and Rebecca Tippet. 2021. Legislative Clustering in North Carolina: Looking Towards the 2020 Census. July 16. <https://sites.duke.edu/quantifyinggerrymandering/files/2021/07/Legislative-County-Clustering-in-North-Carolina.pdf>

## CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS (2020-PRESENT)

*\*Virtual*

"The Effects of Mail Ballot Return Deadlines on Voter Participation." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the North Carolina Political Science Association/North Carolina Public Administration Alliance. Raleigh, NC. February, 2025.

"Trust in Elections." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the North Carolina Political Science Association/North Carolina Public Administration Alliance. Raleigh, NC. February, 2025 (with Michael Bitzer).

"The State Giveth and the State Taketh Away: Comparing Voter Behavior in Counties With and Without Early Voting." Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Election Science Research Association. Los Angeles, CA. May, 2024 (with MV Hood III, and Seth C. McKee. Hood presented).

"Much Ado About Nothing: The Birth of the No Labels Party and the Party Ecosystem in North Carolina" (with J. Michael Bitzer, Whitney Ross Manzo, David McLennan, and Susan

Roberts). Presented at the North Carolina Political Science Association/North Carolina Public Administration Alliance Annual Meeting. Asheville, NC. March, 2024.

“Legislative Professionalism and Municipal Spending” (with Heather Rimes). Presented at the North Carolina Political Science Association/North Carolina Public Administration Alliance Annual Meeting. Asheville, NC. March, 2024.

“Revisiting the Resilience of Southern Identity” (with Scoff Huffmon, Seth McKee and Gibbs Knotts). Presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC. March 2024.

Panel on Election Administration Policy and Practice at the 4<sup>th</sup> Biennial Symposium on Election Administration. Auburn University. Auburn, Alabama. October, 2023

“The 11<sup>th</sup>: Politics, Polarization, and Political Change in a Southern District.” Presented at The Southern Studies Forum. Amiens and Arras, France. September, 2023.

“The Curious Case of the Missing Data: Registration Roll-Off and Election Science.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Election Science Research Association. Athens, GA. June, 2023 (with J. Michael Bitzer).

“The 11<sup>th</sup>: Politics, Polarization, and Political Change in a Mountain District.” Presented at The Southern Studies Conference. Auburn University, Montgomery. April, 2023.

“The Changing Southern Voter” (with Scott Huffmon, Seth McKee and H. Gibbs Knotts) Presented at the Southern Political Science Association. January 2023; The North Carolina Political Science Association. March, 2023). Huffmon Presented at SPSA; I presented at NCPSA)

Election Administration Roundtable. North Carolina Political Science Association Meeting. Wilmington, NC. March, 2023.

“A Substitution Effect, a Turnout Effect or Both? Changes in Distance to the Early Voting Site and Voter Turnout” Presented at the MIT/Bipartisan Policy Center Election Summit. December, 2022 (with Michael Bitzer and Tyler Dukes).

“A Substitution Effect, a Turnout Effect or Both? Changes in Distance to the Early Voting Site and Voter Turnout” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Election Sciences Research Association. July, 2022 (with Michael Bitzer and Tyler Dukes).

“The Politics of Southern Identity.” Presented at the Biennial Meeting of the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. Charleston, SC. March 2022. (with Scott H. Huffmon, H. Gibbs Knotts, and Seth McKee).

“Legislative Professionalism of City Councils.” Presented at the Carolinas Conference (joint meeting of the NC & SC Political Science Associations. Winthrop University, Rock Hill, SC. March, 2022 (with Heather Rimes).



“The Partisan Politics of Historical Memory.” Presented at the Carolinas Conference (joint meeting of the NC & SC Political Science Associations. Winthrop University, Rock Hill, SC. March, 2022 (with Jessie Swigger).

“The Rise of the Unaffiliated Voter in North Carolina.” Presented at the State of the Parties 2020 and Beyond Virtual Conference. Ray C. Bliss Institute for Applied Politics, University of Akron. (November, 2021)\*; the Southern Political Science Association Meeting (January 2022) and the Midwest Political Science Association (April 2022) (with J. Michael Bitzer, Whitney Ross Manzo, and Susan Roberts).

“Redistricting in North Carolina.” Panel Discussion at Redistricting and American Democracy Conference. Sanford School, Duke University. September, 2021.

“Is The Appalachian Voter Distinct?” Poster Presented at the Appalachian Studies Association. March, 2021.\*

“Innumeracy and State Legislative Salaries.” Presented at the North Carolina Political Science Association. February, 2021.\*

“Roundtable: North Carolina and the 2020 Election.” North Carolina Political Science Association. February 2021.\*

“The Southern Voter.” Presented at the Citadel Symposium on Southern Politics. March, 2020 (with Scott H. Huffman, H. Gibbs Knotts, and Seth McKee).

## TEACHING

### COURSES TAUGHT

#### Undergraduate

Political Parties, Campaigns and Elections

Southern Politics

State and Local Government

Mass Media and American Politics

Political Analysis

Simulation in American Politics

Election 2012

Political Communication in Comparative Perspective (taught at the Middelberg Center for Transatlantic Studies, the Netherlands)

Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Study of Politics

Introduction to American Government

Civic Engagement

British Political Systems (taught in London)

The University Experience

Advanced Writing in Political Science

Public Administration

Internship in Political Science

Co-op in Political Science

Graduate

Election Administration  
Research Methods for Public Affairs  
Public Policy Analysis  
State and Local Governance  
Public Affairs Administration  
Metropolitan Government  
Public Affairs Capstone Experience  
Public Affairs Internship

**SERVICE**

**SERVICE TO THE PROFESSION**

*Museum Exhibit Consultant*

NC Democracy: Eleven Elections. Greensboro History Museum, 2021-2022. Exhibit Opened April 2022.

*Editorial Boards, Disciplinary Committees, and Section Chair Duties at Conferences (2020-Present)*

Co-Editor, *Journal of Election Administration Research and Practice* (2024-)  
Editorial Board, *Journal of Election Administration Research and Practice* (2021-)  
Editorial Board, *Social Science Journal* (2021-)  
Editorial Board, *Frontiers in Political Science* (2023-)  
Organizing Committee, Commission on the Future of Elections in North Carolina (2023-present)  
V.O. Key Award Committee for the Best Book Published on Southern Politics (2024)  
Member, North Carolina Network for Fair, Safe, and Secure Elections (2022-Present)  
Conference Host, North Carolina Political Science Association/North Carolina Public Administration Alliance. March, 2024.  
Immediate Past-President, North Carolina Political Science Association 2025-2026)  
President, North Carolina Political Science Association (2024-2025)  
President-Elect, North Carolina Political Science Association (2023-2024)  
Executive Committee, North Carolina Political Science Association (2021-Present)  
Chair, State Politics and Policy Quarterly Best Paper Award Committee (2021-2022)  
Chair, Student Paper Committee, North Carolina Political Science Association (2021-2022)

**Peer Reviewer**

*Administration and Society, American Journal of Political Science, American Political Science Review, American Politics Research, American Review of Politics, American Review of Public Administration, American Sociological Review, Association of American Geographers, Congress and the Presidency, Death Studies, Election Law Journal, European Journal of Personality, The Forum, Geography Compass, Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, International Journal of Health Policy and Management, International Journal for the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning, International Public Management Journal, International Review of Public Administration, Journal of Appalachian Studies, Journal of Food Science Education, Journal of Hate Studies, Journal of Information Technology and Politics, Journal of Political Science, Journal of Political*

*Science Education, Journal of Politics, Journal of Public and Nonprofit Affairs, Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory, Journal of Public Affairs Education, Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics, Justice System Journal, Landscape Research, Legislative Studies Quarterly, Local Government Studies, Personality and Individual Differences, PLOS ONE, Political Behavior, Political Communication, Political Research Quarterly, Politics and Policy, Politics, Groups, and Identities, PS: Political Science and Politics, Public Administration Review, Public Opinion Quarterly, Public Budgeting and Finance, Public Management Review, Public Personnel Management, Public Performance and Management Review, Publius, Review of Public Personnel Administration, Social Science Journal, Social Science Quarterly, Social Forces, Sociology of Race and Gender, Southeastern Geographer, State and Local Government Review, State Politics and Policy Quarterly, Social Problems, Social Science and Medicine, Social Science Journal, Southern Cultures, Urban Affairs Review, Oxford University Press, University of North Carolina Press, University of South Carolina Press, Routledge, Rowman and Littlefield, Palgrave MacMillan, CQ Press, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, National Science Foundation, DeGrueter, Springer.*

## **MEDIA & PUBLIC APPEARANCES**

- Frequent Source for Journalists seeking expertise on American, North Carolina, Southern and electoral politics in outlets including Al Jazeera, BBC (TV and Radio), Bolts, CNN, MSNBC, Fox News, NBC, *New York Times*, *National Public Radio*, *Scripps*, *The New Yorker*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *The Guardian*, *The New Yorker*, *The Hill*, *Vox*, *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Financial Times*, *ESPN.com*, *USA Today*, *Detroit Free Press*, *Raleigh News and Observer*, *Boston Herald*, *Business Insider*, *Asheville-Citizen Times*, *Charlotte Observer*, *Winston Salem Journal*, *Buzzfeed News*, *National Journal*, *The Daily Beast*, *Vox*, *National Journal*, *Rock Hill Herald*, *Smoky Mountain News*, *Hendersonville Times*, *Irish Times*, *Sylva Herald*, *Mountain Express*, *Yahoo Singapore News*, *Carolina Journal*, *Pro-Publica*, *Blue Ridge Public Radio*, *WUNC*, *WFAX*, *Roll Call*, *Waynesville Mountaineer*, *Voice of America*, *Vote Beat*, *Zoomer Radio (Toronto, Canada)*, *WLOS TV (Asheville, NC)*, *WATV*, *WRAL (Raleigh, NC)*, *WCNC (Charlotte, NC)*, *WFSC*, *WJLA (Washington DC)*, *KISS FM*, *WWNC*, and *Spectrum News*.
- More than 100 op-eds and short magazine pieces for a variety of outlets including the *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, *Time*, *Washington Post*, *the Assembly*, *the NC Tribune*, *the News and Observer*, *The Smoky Mountain News* and the *Asheville Citizen Times*.
- Between 12 and 20 public talks each year to a variety of audiences in North Carolina and throughout the country.